1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

weaving ponchos, blankets, belts, and dresses. Water is fetched by women, although men sometimes lend a hand, and it is not unusual for women to raise garden produce, care for flocks of poultry, and help with some phases of farming and house building. 462 512

Mapuche men are expected to do most of the heavy manual labor connected with farming, such as care for the oxen and horses, construct houses, gather fuel, and cut wood. They also make a few implements such as hockey sticks and simple flutes or whistles, and they serve as drivers whenever a journey has to be made by oxcart.

An observer from the United States is inevitably struck by the disproportionate amount of work that is done by children. In fact, a woman with grown but unmarried daughters and a man with unwed, adolescent sons may be said to live "in retirement." Such parents will, as a rule, lie abed late or remain indoors when the weather is bad, while the girls cook and look after the house and the boys attend to the outdoor chores. Regardless of weather it is a common sight to see boys as young as ten to twelve handling a yoke of oxen hitched to a plow or a cart (Pl. I, Figs. 1 and 2). It must not be thought that children are unhappy or resentful under these circumstances, for they are not. On the contrary, they are generally pleased to be treated as adults, and boys, especially, are proud and joyful to be entrusted with the responsibilities of grown-ups. 461 512 857

Araucanian men are frequently charged with being shiftless and lazy, and there is considerable truth to these accusations. Except at planting and harvesting times they do not exert themselves very much. One must realize, however, how few are the outlets or rewards for ambition. Those who live on reductions have little opportunity to gain money, and without money they cannot buy whatever may be necessary to better their condition. Consequently, as a group, the people tend to be apathetic, as though pervaded by a spirit of hopelessness. This applies particularly to young adults of both sexes, some of whom annually foresake the reservations in order to seek work in cities. 461 [181]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

PRIDE, JEALOUSY, BOASTING, TALE BEARING, AMBITION

Pride in being an Araucanian is characteristic of the milieu in which a child grows up, and is, therefore, inherent in every child. A child at school that merely suspects, from anything being discussed, that its people are placed on a lower level than Chileans, is deeply hurt, and will become quiet and seem almost stubborn, teachers noted. When I asked two 8-year-old girls to make some drawings, an 11-year-old girl said to a 15-year-old one, "What can those two little things produce that is worthy of the Mapuche?" "Yes," remarked the other, "let us hope that the Sister will not take their drawings to her home in North America as representative of Mapuche drawings."

Jealousy among children is rare, and a child who occasionally manifests this trait stands out prominently, according to teachers. A 13-year-old girl was jealous of another girl who was often able to give information before she herself was. "A year ago," remarked the teacher, "I gave help after school hours to a student who was preparing to enter a school of advanced studies. Immediately this girl [the jealously inclined one] wanted help, too. She must be in the lead or on a par with everything in order to be happy." The girl's mother, too, observed that the girl was quite different from other children. "She is afraid of the dark," she noted; "maybe it is because I threw her navel cut. She is forgetful, too. If she is not reminded of things, she does not get them done; she has no luck with her animals either." An instance of jealousy on the part of a clique of girls that planned to poison a classmate who persisted in doing better work than they (p. 111), was related by a teacher.

Boasting and tale bearing are not characteristics of children; they are practically nonexistent. Said an old man: "Children on the land are quiet children; they do not boast; really they have nothing to boast about." A tale bearer is not punished but is ignored, unless the matter told about is of importance, in which case the one told on is punished.

Alepúe schoolchildren between 11 and 15 years of age, when asked to write what they aspired to be when they grew up, smiled and sat thinking. The majority of the boys wished to be fishermen (living near the Pacific, some fathers were commercial fishermen); others wanted to work in town (Valdivia, San José de Mariquina), or to be a soldier, a farmer, or an office employee. All girls but one planned to work in town; one hoped to continue her schooling. Several wrote, "I never thought about it."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

and passing the cup on to the next nearest person. Several cupfuls may be passed successively in the same manner. Not infrequently the bombilla is handed to the hostess who cleanses it by pouring boiling water into it before it is passed to the next person for a draught. 514

A place for an interview, on a sunny day, was prepared in the shade of a tree away from winds; on a rainy or cloudy day, we were immediately conducted into the house. Lunch time approaching, we were usually offered a bowl or basin of water and a clean towel (usually a flour sack) for washing our hands. Generally the informant gave us bread, cheese, or eggs to add to our lunch, children usually presenting them to us. A portion of our lunch was always graciously accepted by the informant. At the close of an interview we were often given flowers, herbs, or vegetables from the family garden to take home with us. Usually someone accompanied us to the next house, or, if we were terminating our interviews for the day, some distance toward home.

PRIDE, INTELLIGENCE

Pride is one of the predominating characteristics of the Araucanians. Non-Araucanians pointed it out on many occasions. A non-Araucanian man who had been born and reared among Araucanians cautioned us to give weight to this trait: "These Indians are very proud. They will be suspicious of you, since you are a non-Araucanian, and will probably not tell you uncomplimentary things of themselves until they find that you will not laugh at them and their ways." This was obviously true, for on several occasions an informant who trusted us and with whom we were in good rapport related only flattering things in a somewhat boastful manner about the Araucanians when a stranger, a non-Araucanian, came within range of hearing. Later the informant volunteered that he had told deliberate falsehoods, explaining, "I had to say complimentary things about our people; I could not make out who that woman was." 181 186

A young woman prefaced her information regarding the traditional way of making mudai with the remark, "I am ashamed to tell you that formerly our old women chewed corn and spat it into an olla and drank this after it fermented."

Kolupan arrived with a haughty air one day. With incensed pride he demanded: "Why do you want to know things about me and my people? Why have you come from so far away to find them out? You had better ask the Argentines questions, too; they are no better than we are." When asked to perform the dance of the naming feast, he retorted, "I am not only to tell you things, but now I am to dance 181 157

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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181 for you, too! And then you will write a book, and make money, and
157 I will get none of it! That is what they are telling me you will do. And now I should show you how we danced!" He waited for no answers but got busy clearing a space for himself and danced. Since he did not do very well, because of his age, he refused the pesos offered him for his performance. "I will take no money; but you can get the doctor to clean out my ears—I have difficulty understanding people." He looked at pictures of Chippewa, Blackfoot, and Navajo and remarked, "So these are the Mapuche in North America. Are they Christians? Are they intelligent people?" His interpreter could be expected to rise at any indication that the information that he was giving might be slightly incorrect. At no time did he hesitate to disagree with the interpreter, who also knew the Araucanian customs fairly well, having lived in their country for more than 30 years as the wife of the only physician in the area, and who had known Kolupan for as many years. When Kolupan decided it was time for him to depart, nothing could deter him. "A man with intelligence knows his own mind," he retorted one day when we tried to detain him. He bade everyone goodby and was off.

928 Informants recognized variations in intelligence. Feebleminedness
[732] was exceedingly rare. Non-Araucanians spoke of the alert minds and exact performances of Araucanians when employed in non-Araucanian situations. Said one, "Their slowness of mind in their own environment may be due to lack of nourishing food. They live from hand to mouth, and are usually undernourished, unless they are fed in non-Araucanian places."

ANGER, QUARRELING, MURDER, REVENGE, CANNIBALISM, IMPRECATIONS, SUICIDE

152 Anger was seldom an unreasonable show of temper, nor was it often displayed. But once roused, "many, many, many words were used." "Our people do not become angry as quickly as do the Argentines; nearly every Argentine I know could be nicknamed because of his anger." (Cf. p. 284 for nicknaming.) A woman informant arrived for an interview in an angry state one day: "An old man from Quilaquina came to my house and told me to stop telling you things; that I am not capable of telling you things; that my Araucanian is bad; that he is the one that ought to be giving you information." (We explained that we had refused to interview him because he was intoxicated.) With vehemence and exasperation, she continued, "That man is drunk much of the time; he knows no more about Araucanian

Ill:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonqueo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an *inquilino* (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various *radicados* makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llancaman. Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

These are the Giles of
619 Mapuche society. They constitute a politico-religious structure which is subcolonial, in the sense that it is not recognized in Mapuche dealings with the Chilean government or other segments of non-Mapuche society.

182 When Chileans call the Mapuche stupid, lazy, ignorant, and so
791 forth, they frequently mention along with their inability to make
[181] economic progress the fact that they are pagan and obdurate to Christian teachings. This seems to indicate at least a dim recognition of the force of Mapuche religious morality in serving to set off Mapuche from Chilean. There is only so much economic "progress" a Mapuche can make if he is unwilling to wrench himself free of the moral system. In the political field, the "decline" in chieftainship is relative
[624] only to Mapuche-Chilean relationships. The ritual aspects of chief-
[178] tainship are perhaps more important today than in the past, that is, before ritual congregationalism had taken its present form. In this light chieftainship has not diminished in importance, although the ground has shifted.

182 There are two factors of colonial pressure which, even independ-
179 ently, may contribute to the dissolution of Mapuche society. One, and the most immediately threatening, is that of legislative obliteration of the indigenous community through Chilean governmental action. The other is the gradual attritional effect of Western ideas which would render ineffective the contemporary structure of morality by vitiating belief in lineage-based supernaturalism and the pantheon of gods which watch over the Mapuche. As yet this latter influence has barely been felt on the reservations, and the former, the threat of legislative obliteration, has served as a rallying point for the revitalization of cultural values.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche

difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationship-acts forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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cultural and social entity from the local, provincial expression of Chilean society and culture. It does not distinguish them in the same way that their liking for lovemaut does, or their craving at times for rotten potatoes or the blood-filled lungs of sheep; rather, it functions to maintain Mapuche society as a distinguishable, integrated structure, which the above-mentioned tastes serve to symbolize and in which they can be satisfied.

Aun

Funeral ceremonies—upon the death of one of a pair of spouses—involve complex sets of obligations which ramify through several lineages on any multilineage reservation, extend to one or more affinally related linggães localized on other reservations, and usually include (again under the compulsion of obligatory participation) some persons who are unrelated to either spouse, but who are members of long residence in the ritual congregation. Within this framework, there is some difference between the relationships which are activated and brought into focus upon the death of a male (core member of one of the resident lineages) and his in-married spouse.

In the discussion that follows major referents include the host lineage, that of the husband, which is always sponsor of the funeral ceremony regardless of which of the married pair has died; secondly, the patrilineage of the in-married woman, which always shares responsibility in the ceremony regardless of which spouse has died; next, other lineages in residence on the reservation of either spouse and under compulsion to participate in the service although not patrilineally related to either spouse; and the deceased person, who is always referred to as one of a pair of spouses, married according to matrilateral pattern and resident according to patrilocal rule. My interest here is funerals in general, with respect to the important institutionalized relations which constitute part of any funeral. When distinctions between male and female funerals need be made, as they will, I will indicate them as the need arises. This procedure entails a certain amount of juggling of referents and angles of vision which, although regrettable in one sense, seems justified by the fact that all funeral ceremonies are understandable only as part of the total configuration of institutionalized relationships

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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tunistic—a huge, solitary tree, a swampy area, a rocky promontory, a curious bend in the river. Regions always contain many reservations, but the regional rather than the exceptional names are used for purposes of general identification. When great specificity is called for, intercommunitarian names tend to be used. These, again, are place names taken from a somewhat peculiar contour of the land, a stream, a rock, or a clump of trees, and are usually the names of residential sites for closely related kinsmen. Reservation names (usually the name of the original chief and, therefore, of the dominant lineage in residence) are reserved for use in Chilean courts and agencies or in census, for the purpose of legal identification. They are not in general use among the Mapuche themselves, and we are told that Chileans in general are unaware of these traditional designations. In view of all this, I would say that the Chilean and Mapuche worlds stand in complementary opposition.

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The correspondence between region and ritual congregation is great, if not always complete. The reservations are also political and economic contexts of Chilean derivation. The region is the seat of ritual responsibility, the locus in which matrilateral marriage alliances form their tightest web for any individual or group, the stage on which the drama of life and death is enacted. The region as ritual congregation has moral unity, offers protection against the most malevolent forces of evil, is the center of ritual sacrifice to the hawks of the sun. It is the center of the Mapuche world. Its dimensions are unknown to the outsider; it is apart and sacred to its membership. It assures the continuity of Mapuche morality.

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(248)

12: Faron L-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1954
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ritual Mapuche responses to ritual—sociologically or psychologically considered—one must understand the ancestor-based collectivities of mortality. Without the overall view that system analysis affords, it is easy to misinterpret a traditional, age-based role of marginal or limited participation in ritual activities as one of "growing indifference." And in line with this, to deny the spiritistic manipulation of ancestral spirits, as Titiev does, would tend to indicate a grave misunderstanding of Mapuche society and culture, in transition or otherwise.

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Let us take another tack in approaching the matter of constancy and change. Given the agricultural technology of the Mapuche, they are faced with a problem of overpopulation. One accommodation to this problem, in the removal of excess population by the annual migration of substantial (unrecorded) numbers of young people to the cities and towns and farms of Chile and Argentina. Most of these migrants never resettle on the reservations from which they come. What about them? How might the existence of this diaspora influence the judgment of the anthropologist? Titiev touches on this matter in terms of cultural values, but his remarks seem directed especially to those Mapuche remaining on the reservations. He writes:

[181]

> Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of one scheme of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one. . . . At present the old incentives and rewards [warfare honors, polygynous status, and other phenomena associated with pre-reservation days] for masculine ambition are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouse little interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and compete with Chileans (1951:144).

Leaving aside the judgments about psychological orientations in the warning on, which almost duly verification, much of this observation would seem applicable to the Mapuche individuals who have already left the reservations. No longer part of reservation life, they are nevertheless not readily accepted into Chilean society, except on a level of employment and social status which is general unsatisfactory. They are in something of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

The negligible influence of Christianity (including the secular educational by-products of reservation elementary schools) means no less than that the structure of Mapuche values has remained relatively intact over a long period. The clear corollary of this is that Mapuche social institutions have been, since the major accommodation to reservation living, in a state of relative equilibrium. This, after all, is implicit in the concept of "system." But it is also a dynamic concept which does not deny change or discount it. In the case of the Mapuche, social dynamics have not been characterized by random selection of alternative beliefs and contingent activities. There has been a processual consistency with respect to traditional beliefs and action. This temporal continuity of structure is, of course, what has served to distinguish Mapuche from Chilean society. It is most apparent, because most dramatic, in the area of ritual, but it ramifies throughout the total ideological and social structure.

Until the ideological orientation of the Mapuche undergoes radical change, we might expect that Mapuche society will remain relatively stable. Should the social and natural environment change radically (e.g. as a result of disbanding the reservations under Chilean political pressure), we need not necessarily expect Mapuche society to crumble. What accommodations would be made in the event of radical external changes would of course depend on the amount of pressure exerted by the Chilean government. This is a purely empirical matter. What is known of Mapuche émigrées (living in cities, on farms, both in Chile and Argentina) and of those Mapuche continuing to live on what used to be reservation land (since divided into severalties) provides only a dim and partial view of what the future might hold. After all, approximately a quarter of a million people are involved. If the Mapuche are allowed to "determine" their own course, it is expectable that the route they choose will be rather different from that planned for them by the Chilean government. Whatever the institutional accommodation, it will of necessity be complex. And unless one is satisfied with making almost meaninglessly superficial predictions, the outcome is unknowable at the level of inquiry attempted in this book.